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MS. B.6.2 ff. 310

ADDRESS OF MR. YOSUKE MATSUOKA, MINISTER FOR
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AT THE 76TH SESSION OF
THE IMPERIAL DIET

January 21, 1941

It gives me great pleasure to have this opportunity of explaining at the reopening of the 76th session of the Diet the recent course of our Country's foreign affairs.

Needless to say, the aim of Japan's foreign policy is that of enabling all nations of the world each to take its own proper place, in accordance with the spirit of the *Hakko Ichiu*, the very ideal which inspired the foundation of our Empire. The object of the Three-Power Pact concluded between Japan, Germany and Italy on September 27 last is none other than the realization of the same great ideal. We are, one and all, profoundly moved that His Majesty the Emperor was graciously pleased to grant an Imperial Rescript on the conclusion of the Pact, clearly indicating to the nation the path which they should follow.

The Three-Power Pact stipulates that Germany and Italy recognize and respect the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order in Greater East Asia. It is our avowed purpose to bring all the people in Greater East Asia to revert to their innate and proper aspect, promoting conciliation and co-operation among them, and thereby setting the example of universal concord. The Pact also provides that Japan recognizes and respects the leadership of Germany and Italy in their similar endeavours in Europe. Far from antagonizing any Country, the Pact is the embodiment of a peaceful but powerful co-operation directed towards the establishment of a new world order. In accordance with the provisions of the treaty, arrangements have already been made for setting up mixed commissions at the capitals of the three countries. Friendly relations between the three

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nations are thus becoming evermore closer, politically, militarily, economically and culturally. During the month of November, last year, the Pact was adhered to by Hungary, Rumania and Slovakia. It need not be repeated that the keynote of Japan's diplomacy is the ideal of the *Hakko Ichiu*, and that it revolves round the Three-Power Pact as its axis. In this connection, I should like to touch briefly upon Article Three of the Three-Power Pact. That article provides that the Contracting Parties undertake to assist one another with all political, economic and military means if one of the Contracting Parties is attacked by a power at present not involved in the European War or in the Sino-Japanese conflict. In case such an attack should be made, the obligation stipulated by this article would, of course, arise. Incidentally, reference may be made to Italy's military operations. There appear to be various species of malicious propaganda circulated on this head, but I have no doubt that our ally Italy will attain her object before long.

Of the nations in Greater East Asia, Manchoukuo has special and inseparable relations with this country. As you are aware, during the ten years which have already elapsed since her emergence as an independent nation, her national foundations have become strong and secure while her international position has been greatly enhanced, her teeming millions ever enjoying an increasing measure of prosperity. In June, last year, the Emperor of Manchoukuo paid a visit to Japan to offer His felicitations personally to our Imperial House on the auspicious occasion of the 2,600th anniversary of the foundation of our Empire. This is a source of genuine congratulation for the peoples of Japan and Manchoukuo, as it is a conspicuous manifestation of the unique relations subsisting between the two

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nations, sharing, as they do, common aims and aspirations. By the Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty concluded with the National Government at Nanking, and through the Joint Declaration made by Japan, Manchoukuo and China, the Republic of China recognized Manchoukuo, with the result that an exchange of ambassadors has been arranged between them.

Inasmuch as an early settlement of the China Affair is desirable in the interests of the creation of this sphere of Common prosperity throughout Greater East Asia, the present Government ever since their formation, have urged the Chiang Kai-shek regime to reconsider and reverse its attitude, with a view of bringing about its amalgamation with the Nanking Government, but it remains still struggling against Japan. The Chiang regime, however, is riddled with internal disruption and friction which are rapidly growing acute, while the masses under its control are suffering from high prices, a dearth of commodities and other severe tribulations. While the armed resistance of Chiang's regime has notably declined, the Chinese communist troops have greatly gained in influence, with the result that they are steadily encroaching upon the sphere of influence of the Chungking armies. The leader in Chungking now seems to be greatly harassed by the rampancy of the communist forces. Despite its being in such a miserable plight, the Chiang regime is still advocating national reconstruction through continued resistance against Japan. This is due to its misplaced hopes in assistance from Great Britain and the United States, especially the latter, and also to past circumstances the effect of which that regime cannot easily escape. In June, last year, Great Britain temporarily suspended the traffic of goods destined for the Chiang regime by the Hongkong and Burma routes. On October 18 of last year, however, following the announcement of the Three Power Pact, that country reopened the Burma route and has since

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been trying to transport goods by that route. Furthermore, Great Britain recently granted the Chiang regime a ten million pound sterling loan, while about the same time the United States, too, offered a loan of one hundred million dollars. The latter country is now endeavouring to extend assistance to Great Britain on a large scale by mobilizing her entire resources, while the Burma route is being seriously and successively damaged by appropriate measures taken by our loyal and gallant air forces. It seems highly problematical, therefore what assistance Great Britain and the United States can actually afford the Chiang regime. In the light of such an international situation, the Japanese Government, in pursuance of their fixed policy, recognized the National Government at Nanking and on November 30 of last year concluded with the latter the Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty. This Treaty embodies the three basic principles of good neighbourliness, economic co-operation and joint defence against Communist activities. It stipulates that both Japan and China respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and undertake close economic co-operation on the basis of equality and reciprocity, and that Japanese forces be stationed in certain specified areas in Mengchiang and North China. Not only does Japan demand no territorial cession and no indemnities, but she has willingly pledged to China a policy of abolishing extraterritoriality and also of restoring the "concessions" to China. This is an eloquent testimony of her sincere desire for the attainment of a moral union of the Asiatic peoples.

Now that the Basic Treaty has been signed and the Joint Declaration by Japan, Manchoukuo and China issued, it is incumbent upon us to concentrate our efforts on assisting the Nanking Government to develop into the general government of China both in name and in fact. We have thus maintained an attitude to surmount all obstacles for the purpose of establishing a sphere

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of co-prosperity throughout Greater East Asia with Japan, Manchoukuo and China as its pivotal point.

Let me now make a brief survey of our relations with the Netherlands East Indies, French Indo-China, and Thailand, which lie within the above-mentioned sphere of common prosperity.

The Netherlands East Indies and French Indo-China, if only for geographical reasons, should be in intimate and inseparable relationship with our Country. Therefore, the situation which has hitherto thwarted the development of this natural relationship must be thoroughly remedied and relations of good neighbourliness secured for the promotion of mutual prosperity. With this in view, early in September last, the Government despatched Mr. Ichizo Kobayashi, Minister of Commerce and Industry, to the Netherlands East Indies as a special envoy. Mr. Kobayashi was obliged to return to Japan by circumstances preventing his prolonged sojourn abroad, when a definite stage had been reached in his negotiations with the Netherlands East Indies authorities concerning purchases of oil and other urgent questions. As his successor, the Government have recently sent to the Netherlands East Indies Mr. Kenkichi Yoshizawa, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs. He had already resumed the negotiations with the Netherlands East Indies authorities.

As regards French Indo-China, it formed the most important route of supply for Chungking since the beginning of the China Affair. Consequently, however, upon the sudden change in the European situation last June, a change has occurred in the relations between Japan and French Indo-China, resulting in the closure of the border between French Indo-China and China itself, and the entry, by agreement, of Japanese armed forces into French Indo-China. Negotiations are now in progress in Tokyo in an amicable

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atmosphere on the basis of the Notes exchanged between the French Ambassador and myself in August last. It is my opinion that a realization by France of the necessity for co-operation with Japan, in the light of the new situation in the world in general and in East Asia in particular is responsible for this development.

In connection with the French Indo-China question, I should like to refer to the relations between our country and Thailand. It may be recalled that at the General Assembly of the League of Nations dealing with the Manchurian Affair, in 1933, the Thai delegate did not leave the Assembly hall but remained in his seat, and boldly announced his abstention from voting. This is still fresh in the memory of our people.

In June, last year, a Treaty of Amity and Neutrality was concluded by Japan with Thailand. With the exchange of ratifications, completed on December 23, at Bangkok, the bonds of friendship between the two countries have been drawn still closer. A movement is now stirring the Tai people for the recovery of the lost territories which are at present incorporated in French Indo-China. The Thai troops are confronting the French Indo-China forces across the border with frequent conflicts occurring between them. Japan, the leader in East Asia, cannot afford to remain indifferent to such a dispute, which she hopes will be settled at the earliest possible opportunity.

An exchange of diplomatic representatives has taken place between Japan and Australia. We expect that the two countries will make contributions toward the promotion of the peace of the Pacific by further advancing their friendly relations through cordial co-operation and the elimination of unnecessary misunderstandings.

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The relations between Japan and Near Eastern Countries have recently increased in cordinality. Our ratification of the Treaty of Amity with Iran is only one of many proofs that illustrate this happy state of affairs.

Japan and Argentine have agreed to elevate the status of their Legations in each other's country to that of Embassies. With Brazil, a cultural agreement was signed in September last, and it has already been sanctioned by His Majesty the Emperor. Relations between Japan and Brazil are thus growing more and more cordial. It is a matter for hearty congratulation that Japan and those Latin American countries have of recent years become increasingly closer in their political economic and cultural relations.

While diplomatic relations have taken such a favourable turn, the development of the European war has obliged us to suspend or temporarily withdraw some of our diplomatic establishments in that region. But Japan's diplomatic service abroad is being steadily strengthened on the principle of attaching special importance to specific countries. We are specially reinforcing our diplomatic machinery in Greater East Asia.

In establishing a sphere of common prosperity throughout Greater East Asia and ensuring the peace of the Orient, it is not desirable that the present diplomatic relations between Japan and the Soviet Union should be left as they are. The utmost efforts are being made, therefore, to remove mutual misunderstandings and, if possible, to bring about a fundamental and far-reaching adjustment of diplomatic relations.

We are pursuing negotiations at this moment upon such questions as the frontier demarcation between Manchukuo and Outer Mongolia, the fisheries and the Japanese concessions in North Saghalien. Regarding the fisheries question in particular, an agreement of views has already been reached
PURL: <http://www.legal-tools.org/doc/94c1d>
Concerning the establishment of a mixed commission Composed of Japanese

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and Soviet representatives for the purpose of revising the longterm treaty and also concerning the conclusion of a modus vivendi for fishing industry for this year. On this point both Germany and Italy share Japan's desire. The provisions of Article V of the Three Power Pact also make it clear, in accordance with the above-mentioned intentions of Japan, that the Pact is not directed against the Soviet Union. We earnestly hope that the Soviet Union will understand Japan's true intentions and that the two countries, actuated by the spirit of mutual concession and conciliation, will succeed in achieving the readjustment of their relations.

Japan's foreign trade, with the exception of that with Manchoukuo and China, is conducted mostly with Great Britain, the United States and their respective colonies and possessions. Since notifying Japan of the abrogation of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation in July, 1937, the United States has been enforcing in succession embargoes or restrictions on the exports of Japan of aircraft, arms and ammunition aviation gasoline, machine tools, scrap iron, iron and steel manufactures, copper, nickel and other important war materials, while the British Dominions and colonies are in various ways interfering with Japan's shipping. The Japanese Government have lodged protests against such actions on each occasion, but this tendency has recently been so greatly aggravated that Japan must meet the situation adequately prepared. No other course is left to Japan but to go forward with perfecting herself as a state highly organized for national defence, not only in order to meet this pressure that I have referred to but also to secure an economic life of self-supply and self-sufficingness within the region of Greater East Asia.

In this connection, I should like to refer to our relations with the United States. The United States has evinced no adequate understanding of

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the fact that the establishment of a sphere of common prosperity throughout Greater East Asia is truly a matter of vital concern to Japan. She apparently entertains an idea that her own first line of national defense lies along the mid-Atlantic to the east, but westward not only along the eastern Pacific, but even as far as China and the South Seas. If the United States assumes such an attitude, it would be, to say the least, a very one sided contention on her part, to cast reflections on our superiority in the Western Pacific, by suggesting that it betokens ambitious designs. I, for one, believe that such a position assumed on the part of the United States would not be calculated to contribute toward the promotion of world peace. Speaking frankly, I should extremely regret such an attitude of the United States for the sake of Japano-American friendship, for the sake of peace-in-the Pacific and, also, for the sake of the peace of the world in general. It is my earnest hope that a great nation exerting the influence that the United States does will realize her responsibility for the maintenance of peace, will reflect deeply on her attitude with truly God-fearing piety, will courageously liquidate past circumstances and bend her utmost efforts to allay the impending crisis of civilization.

The prevailing confusion of the international situation shows no sign of United States unfortunately become involved in the European war, and should Japan too, be compelled to participate in the war, another Great World War both in name and reality would ensue, precipitating a situation which would defy all attempt at saving it, should the war take its furious course, unleashing formidable new weapons which have not hitherto been used, no one could guarantee that it would not develop into a war spelling the downfall of modern civilization. The Three Power Pact has been concluded

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for the purpose not only of making sustained efforts for the establishment of a sphere of common prosperity throughout Greater East Asia, but of preventing, in its course, any further extension of the present disturbances. We must endeavour to terminate the current war as speedily as possible and to settle the chaos in which the world is plunged. We must meanwhile, study in advance to discover some formula for the prevention of the recurrence of any such disturbance in the future.

With an unbroken line of Emperors reigning since its foundation, our Empire constitutes a unique family-State unparalleled in the world for unity and solidarity, which grow stronger with every national emergency. It is reassuring, moreover, to observe that the Japanese Empire is endowed with most favourable geographical conditions, powerful enough to influence the course of world politics. With the conviction of our race that Light radiates from the East and with the great ideal of Hakko Ichiu, we must put forth our utmost efforts in the great task of establishing a new world order which is the object of the Tripartite Pact. That we shall succeed in this regard I have not the slightest doubt. If we are fully prepared for this task under these circumstances, the future of our Empire, I firmly believe, is full of promise.

In concluding my address, I respectfully pay my tribute to the spirits of those loyal and valiant officers and men, our Countrymen, who have fallen in action, and at the same time, I tender my warm thanks to the armed forces of our nation for enduring so many hardships and privations, devoting to them my most sincere wishes for every success in the field.

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CERTIFICATE

Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, H. YASHI, Kaoru, Chief of the Archives Section, Japanese Foreign Office, hereby certify that the document thereto attached in English consisting of 37 pages and entitled "Address of Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the 76th Session of the Imperial Diet, January 21, 1941." is an exact and true copy of an official translation of the Japanese Foreign Office.

Certified at Tokyo,
on this 28th day of January, 1947.

(Signed) K. Hayashi
Signature of Official

Witness : (Signed) Masaharu Odo

not used

第十六回 帝國議會ニ於ル松岡外務大臣演説

一九四一年一月二十一日

本日第七十六議會ノ初ニ當リマシテ、茲ニ我力外交ノ近況ニ就キ説明スル
機會ヲ得マシタコトハ、私ノ最モ欣幸トスル所デアリマス。

吾日ノ外交カ、我力堅國ノ理想タル、八絃一字ノ大精神ニ隨ヒ、萬邦ヲシ
テ各々リノ所ヲ得シムルニ存スルコトハ、申スマデモナイ所デアリマス。
昨年九月二十七日締結サレマシタ、日獨伊三國同盟條約ノ日標トスル所モ
亦斯カル大理念ノ貫徹ニアルノデアリマシテ、同條約締結ニ當リ、畏クモ
大記ノ榮譽ヲ拜シ、兩民ノ向フヘキ所ヲ御明示サレマシタルコトハ、寔ニ
恐懼ニ堪ヘヌ所デアリマス。

本條約ニ於テ、獨伊兩國ハ、皇國ガ大東亞ニ新秩序ヲ建設シ、且ツソノ圈
内ニ於テ、指導力ヲ保有スルコトヲ、承認シタノデアリマス。皇國ノ志ス
所ハ大東亞圈内ニ於ケル各民族ヲシテ、ソノ本然固有ノ姿ニ立返ラシメ、
和衷協同、共存共榮、謂ハヘ、國際的ニ隣保互助ノ實ヲ譽ケ、以テ世界大

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同ノ範ヲ垂レンコトヲ期スルト云フ事ニ盡キルノテアリマス。又我國ハ、獨伊兩國ノ「ヨーロッパ」ニ於ケル同様ノ努力ニ關シ、其ノ指導的地位ヲ認メ、之ヲ支援シ、之ニ協力センコトヲ約シタノデアリマス。即チ、三國同盟條約ハ何國ヲモ敵視セス、世界新秩序建設ヲ目的トスル強力ナル提携アルノデアリマス。既ニ本條約ニ基キ、三國ノ首都ニ混合委員會ノ設置アルノデアリマス。又昨年十一月中、本條約前見ル運ヒトナリ、三國ノ親善關係ハ、政治的ニモ、軍事的ニセ、經濟的ニモ、將又文化的ニモ、愈々緊密ノ度ヲ加ヘツツアリマス。又昨年十一月中、本條約前文ノ趣旨ニ從ヒ「ハンガリー」、「ルーマニア」及「スロヴアキア」ノ三國力本條約ニ參加致シマシタ。申ス迄モナク、今後我國ノ外交ハ、八紘一字ノ大理念ヲ基調トシ、此ノ三國條約ヲ樞軸トシテ、運用セラルモノデアリマス。

尙本條約ニ就イテ特ニ説明ヲ加ヘテ置キタイト思ヒマスコトハ、其ノ第三條デアリマス。即チ同條ニ依レバ、「三締約國中何レカノ一國ガ現ニ歐洲戰爭又ハ日支紛爭ニ參入シ居ラサル一國ニ依テ攻擊セラレタルトキハ、三

國ハ有ラユル政治的、經濟的及軍事的方法ニ依リ相互ニ援助スヘキ」義務
ヲ負フテキルコトハ明白テアリマシテ、苟モ斯カル攻撃ヲ受ケタル場合ニ

ハ、此ノ規定ニ依ル義務ハ當然ニ發生スルノデアリマス。
序テヲ以テ一言致シマスレハ、伊太利ノ軍事行動ニ就キ種々ノ宣傳力行ハ
レテ居ル様テアリマスカ、遠カラス我力盟邦伊太利カ、其ノ所期ノ目的ヲ
達スルコトハ、私ノ疑ハサル所ニアリマス。

大東亜ニ於ケル諸國ノ中、我國ト特殊不可分ノ關係ニ在リマスル滿洲國ハ、
建國以來早クモ十年ノ歲月ヲ重テ、國威固キ固キチ加ヘ、國際的地位モ日
チ逐ウテ向上シ、國運隆昌ニ赴キツツアルコトハ、御承知ノ通りテアリマ
ス。而シテ、昨年皇紀二千六百年ニ當リ、我力皇室ニ御祝詞ヲ述ヘサセラ
レル爲メ、同國皇帝陛下ノ御訪問ヲ見マシタルコトハ、愈々以テ兩國力、
一德一心ノ關係ヲ具現シツツアルコトノ誠著ナル茲徵トシテ、日滿兩國民
ノ等シク長貢指ク能ハサル所ニアリマス。又過般ハ、日華基本條約諸項ト
同時ニ、日滿華共同宣言ニ依リ、中華民國ハ滿洲國ヲ承認シ、滿華兩國間
ニ大使ノ交換ヲ見ルコトトナリマシタ。

出來得ルコトナラバ、一日モ速ニ、支那事變ヲ處理スルコトガ、大東亜共
同樹立ニ就テ望マシキコトニアリマスノデ、現内閣成立以來蔣政權ノ反省ヲ
促シ、汪精衛氏ヲ主班トセル南京政府トノ合流促進ヲ企圖シタノデアリマ
カ、同政權ハ未ダニ反省スル所ナク、抗戰ヲ續ケテ居リマス。然シ乍ラ、蔣
政權内部ノ分裂軋轔漸ク激化シ來リ、同政權支配下ノ民衆ハ、物價騰貴、物
資不足其他アラニル艱苦窮乏ニ憚マサレテ居リ、又一面蔣政權ノ抗戰力モ低
下シ、他而最近ハ共產軍ノ勢力頓ニ增大シ、次第ニ國民宣ノ地盤リ糧食シツ
ツツアルヤウナ事情ニアリマシテ、蔣介石モ共產軍ノ跋扈跳梁ニハ餘程苦シ
メラシテ居ル模様ニアリマス。窮狀斯クノ如キニモ拘ラズ、今猶抗戰建國ヲ
標榜スルキナル原因ハ、英米殊ニ米國ノ援助ニ望ミツ掛ケルト共ニ、過去ノ
行懲ニ捉ハレテ居ル爲メテアルト思ハレマス。英國ハ昨年六月一時、香港及
緬甸援蔣「ルート」ヲ通スル物資ノ輸送ヲ止メタノデアリマスガ、三國同盟
成立後、十月十八日ニ至リ、緬甸「ルート」ヲ再開シ、爾來物資ノ輸送ニ努
メテ居ル模様ニアリマス。又最近蔣政權ニ對スル一千萬磅ノ借款ヲ與ヘマシ
タ。米國モ亦之ト前後シテ、一億弗ノ借款ヲ約束シマシタカ、目下米國ハ國

ヲ擧ゲテ、英國ニ對シテ大規模ノ援助ヲ企テ居ル際テモアリ、又忠勇果敢ナル我航空部隊ノ適切ナル處置ニ依リ、緬甸「ルート」カ屡々大破損ヲ蒙リツツアル現狀ニ於テ、實際幾何ノ援助ヲナシ得ルカ、甚タ疑問デアリマス。右ノ如キ狀勢ニ鑑ミ、我政府ハ既定方針ニ從ヒ、昨年十一月三十日、南京ノ國民政府ヲ承認シ、之ト基本條約ヲ結ンダノデアリマス。此ノ條約ハ善隣友好、經濟提携及ヒ共同防共ノ三原則ヲ具體化シタモノデアリマシテ、日華兩國ハ相互通其ノ主權ト領土トヲ尊重シツツ、平等互惠ノ原則ニ依リ、緊密ナル經濟提携ヲ行ヒ、又兩國ハ共同シテ共產主義ヲ防壓スル爲メ、蒙疆及ヒ華北ノ一帶地域ニ皇軍ノ駐屯スルコト等ヲ規定シテ居リマス。

皇軍ガ領土及ヒ戰費ノ賠償ヲ求メス、又進シテ治外法權ヲ徹廢シ、租界ヲ返還スルノ方針ヲ約シタコトハ、東亞民族ノ道義ニ依ル結合ヲ衷心念願シテ居ルーツノ確乎タル表現デアリ、證左デアリマス。已ニ基本條約ヲ締結シ、日滿華共同宣言ヲ聯セラレタ以上、我々ハ一意專心、汪精衛氏ヲ主班トスル国民政府ヲ援助シ、名實共ニ之ヲ中華民國ノ中央政府タラシメホバナリマセヌ斯クテ日滿華三國ヲ幹根トシ愈々大東亞共榮圈ノ樹立ニ向ツテ萬難ヲ排シ邁

進セントスルノ態勢ヲ執リ來ツタノテアリマス。

次ニ大東亜共榮圏内ノ蘭領印度、佛領印度支那及ヒ泰國等ノ關係ヲ一瞥シマスルニ、蘭印、佛印等ハ地理的状勢其ノ他ノ上ヨリモ、我國ト緊密不可分ノ關係ニ在ルヘキデ、從來之ヲ阻害シ來ツタ事態ハ、飽クマテ之ヲ匡正シ、相互ノ繁榮ヲ促進スル爲メ、確保互助ノ關係ノ設定ヲ期セネバナリマセん。政府ハ此ノ見地ヨリシテ昨年九月初旬特ニ小林商工大臣ワ蘭印ニ派遣致シマシタノデアリマスガ、石油購入其他ニ關係シ、重要ニシテ急々要スル問題ノ交渉一堅落ヲ告ケタルヲ機會ニ、長々現地ニ滯在スルコトワ許サナイ事情モアリマスノデ、同代表ノ歸朝ヲ見ルニ至リ、次デ政府ハ過般ソノ後任トシテ、芳澤元外務大臣ヲ派遣シ、己ニ交渉ヲ再開シテ居ルノデアリマス。

佛印ハ支那事變ガ勃發致シマシテ以來、援蔭「ルート」ノ最モ重要ナルモノデアリマシタカ、昨年六月「ヨーロッペ」ニ於ケル情勢ノ急變ト共ニ、日本ト佛印ノ關係モ亦變化ヲ來シ、佛印ノ支那領境閉鎖、皇軍進駐等ノ事

實ガ相縛イテ起ツタノデアリマス。尙昨年八月私ト駐日佛國大使トノ間ニ交換セラレマシタ文書ニ基キ、目下東京ニ於テ交渉ガ開カシテ居ル次第デアリマスカ、啞ル友好的雰圍氣ノ裡ニ進渉シテ居リマス。右ハ佛蘭西カ世界ノ新情勢ト環璽ノ新事態ニ基キ、且、佛提携ノ必要ヲ認識シタカニナラヌト思考致シマス。

佛印問題ニ關聯シテ申シ上ゲ、イノハ、我國ト泰國トノ關係デアリマス。昭和八年ノ滿洲事變ニ關スル國際聯盟總會ノ際、同國代表ガ議場ニ留マリ獨り敢然トシテ聲轟々聲明シマシタコトハ、今猶我國民ノ記憶ニ新タナル所デアリマス。

昨年六月、彼我ノ間ニ、友好中立條約ガ調印セラシ、十二月二十三日盤谷ニ於テ批准交換タ了シ兩國ノ親善關係ハ益々緊密ツ加ヘツタルノデアリマス。同國ニ於テハ今次佛印ハ於ケル失地回復運動ガ澎湃トシテ起リ目下同國ノ實驗ハ佛印軍ト同曉ニ於テ對峙シ、衝突頻發ノ模様デアリマスガ斯カル紛爭ハ東亞ノ指導者タル我國ノ到底無關心タリ得サル所デアリマシテ我國トシテハソノ一日モ速ニ解決ヲ見ムコトヲ希望スル次第デアリマス。

今回我國ト歐洲トノ間ニ公使ヲ交換スルコトトナリマシタカ、傳統的友好關係ニ結ハレタル兩國ハ、今後直接膝ヲ交ヘテ隔意ナキ詰合ニ依リ、不必要ナル誤解ヲ一掃シ兩國ノ類善促進ニ依ツテ太平洋ノ平和増進ニ貢獻セシコトヲ期シテ居リマス。

猶「イラン」國トノ間ノ修好條約ハ既ニ御批准ノ手續ヲ完了シ、我國ト近東諸國トノ關係モ最近頗ニ親善ニ赴キツツアリマス。

更ニ我國ト亞爾丁國トノ間ニモ過般相互ニ公使館ヲ大使館ニ昇格スルコトニ致シマシタ。又「ブラジル」國トハ同シタ昨年九月文化協定ヲ締結セラレ既ニ御批准ヲ見ルニ至リ兩國關係ハ益々敦睦ヲ加ヘツツアリマス。之等諸國ミ我國トノ關係力、近年政治的ニキ、經濟的ニキ、文化的ニセ、急速ニ密接トナリツツアルフトハ、眞ニ慶賀スヘキコトテアルト思ヒマス。

斯クノ如キ外交關係ノ進展ヲ見マスル一方、歐洲戰爭ノ影響ニ依リ、在歐大公使館中ニハ引揚又ハ廢止ノ餘儀ナキニ至ツタチノヤアリマス。併シナカラ、在外外交機關ニ就テハ重點主義ニ依リ、着々ソノ充實ヲ圖ツ

テ居ルノテアリマシテ競中大東亞共榮圈内ニ於テハ極力外交網ノ整備ニ
努メテ居リマス。

大東亞共榮圈ヲ建設シ東洋平和ヲ確保スル爲ニハ此際日蘇兩國ノ國交ヲ
現在ノ儘ニ推移セシムルコトハ、望マシクアリマセヌノテ何トカシテ相
互ノ誤解ヲ除キ應接少々トシラハ進ンテ全面的ニ國交ヲ調整ヲ計リダイ
ト云フ考ヘア以テ折角努力中テアリマス。滿蒙國境問題、漁業問題、北
樺太利權問題等ニ付キマシテ、銳意交渉ヲ續ケテ居リ、競中漁業問題
ニ關シテハ漁業本條約改訂ノ爲メノ日蘇混合委員會設置並ニ取扱ス。本年
度漁業ニ關スル暫定政權ニ付、既ニ合意ヲ見タ様ナ次第テアリマス。遂
國條約第五條ノ規定セシコト趣旨ヲ以テ本條約カ蘇聯邦ニ對スルモノテ
ナシコトヲ、明ニシムヤノテアリマスカ獨伊兩國モ亦同感テアルノテ
アリマス。蘇聯邦力速ニ我方ノ眞意ヲ諒解スルニ至リ、兩國カ交譲妥協
ノ精神ヲ以テ、國交調整ニ成功セムコトヲ希望シテ居リマス。

我國ノ通商貿易ハ滿支兩國以外ニ於テハ、主トシテ英米兩國及ヒ其ノ植
民地屬領トノ間ニ行ハレテ居ルノテアリマスカ、米國ハ一昨年七月、日

米通商條約廢棄ノ通告以來、逐次我國ニ對シ、飛行機、武器、彈藥、航空用「ガソリン」、工作機械、屑鍼、鐵製品、銅、「ニツケル」其ノ他ノ重要軍需資材ノ輸出ヲ禁止。若クハ制限シ、又英國屬領各地ニ於テハ我國ノ海軍ニ對シ種々ノ妨害ヲ加ヘテ居リマス。之等ニ對シテハ、我方ヨリ其ノ都度抗議ヲ提出シテ居ルノアリマスカ、此ノ傾向ハ最近益々甚タシク、我國トシテ充份ナル用意ヲ以テ之ニ處スルコトカ必要テアリ殊ニ我國ハ此ノ壓迫ニ堪フル必要カラシテ、大東亜共榮圏ニ於テ、自給自足ノ經濟生活ヲ確保シ、高慶國防國家体制ノ建設ニ邁進セサルヲ得ナイノテアリマス。

此ノ點ニ悶聴シ、日米關係ニ言及致シマス。米國ハ日本ノ大東亜共榮圏建設对我國ノ死活的的要求ヲアルコトニ對シ充分ナル理解ヲ示サヌノアリマス。米國カ一面自ラ東ハ中部太平洋ヲ、西ハ獨リ東太平洋ノミナラス、他面更ニ支那及南洋ヲ以テ其ノ國防ノ第一線テアルカノ如キ熊度ヲ執リ、日本ノ西太平洋支配ヲスラ野心視シテ、之ヲ非難スル如キ口吻ヲ洩ラスニ至ツテハ、餘リニモ身勝手ナル言分ヲアリ、ソシテ、ソレハ決

シテ世界平和ノ増進ニ寄與スル所以テハアリマセん。

率直ニ申セハ、私ハ日米同交ノ爲メニ、太平洋ノ平和ヲ爲メニ、將又世界全般ノ平和ノ爲メニ斯カル米國ノ態度ヲ頗ル遺憾トスル者テアリマス。大國民タル米國民ハ須ラク、ソノ世界平和ニ對シテ負フ所ノ責任ニ目覺メ、國ニ神ヲ畏レル敬虔ノ念ヲ以テ、深ク反省シ、行懸ノ如キハ大悟シテ之ヲ一掃シ、現代文明ノ危機ヲ打開スル爲ミ、ソノ力ヲ用キンコトヲ希望シテ止マナイモノデアリマス。

現下世界政局ノ混亂ハ、猶當分鎮靜ノ模様ナキノミナラズ、次第ニ依ツテハ一層激化セントスル傾向ニアリマス。今後、若シ、米國ガ不幸ニシテ歐洲戰爭ニ捲キ込マレ、我國モ亦遂ニ參戰ノ餘儀ナキニ立至ルカ如キコトアラバ、名實共ニ眞ニ戰慄スヘキ第二ノ世界大戰トナリ、容易ニ收拾スヘカラリル事態ニ立チ到ルテアリマセウ。

殊ニ將來事勢ノ激スルトコロ、今日迄用ヒテレタ以上ノ、強烈ナル新銃武器ヲ以テ戰フコトニモナレバ、誰ガ現代文明ノ没落戰タラサルヲ保證出來ルデアリマセウカ。故ニ、我々ハ大東亞共榮園樹立ノ努力ヲ

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進ムルト共ニ、其ノ遂行途上ニ於テ、世界ノ混亂ノ擴大ヲ防止センガ爲メ、
 ニツニハ三國條約ヲ結ンダノテアリマス。今後我々ハ一日モ速ニ、現在ノ
 戰爭ヲ終焉セシメ、世界ノ混亂ヲ鎮靜セシムルト同時ニ將來斯クノ如キ禍
 亂ヲ再燃セシメサル方途ニ就キ、今日カラ考ヘテ置ク必要ガアルト思フノ
 デアリマス。

惟フニ、我國ハ萬世一系ノ天皇ヲ載キ、團結鞏固ナルコト世界ニ無比ナル
 家族國家デアリマシテ、國難ト共ニ爲々朝野ノ團結ヲ強メルノツ特徵ト
 致シマス。更ニ我々ノ意ヲ確ウスルノハ、世界政局ヲ左右スルニ足ル皇國
 ノ絶好ナル地理的條件デアリマシテ、「光ハ東方ヨリ」ナル民族的信念ニ
 生キ、八纮一宇ノ大理念ニ燃エ、三國同盟條約ノ目標タル世界新秩序建設
 ノ大業ニ精進スヘキデアリマス。私ハ其ノ成功ヲ疑ヒマセん。而シテ此間
 ニ處シ、我國民ニシテ充分ナル覺悟タニアラハ皇國ノ前途亦眞ニ洋々タル
 モノノアルコトヲ確信致シマス。

終リニ私ハ、讀ンテ聖戰ノ爲ニニ艱レタ我忠鷦ナル將士ノ英魂ニ對シ、衷
 心ヨリ其ノ冥福ヲ祈ルト共ニ皇室全體ノ勞苦ニ對シ深甚ナル感謝ノ意ヲ

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夷シ、其ノ武運長久ヲ祈ルモノデアリマス。

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C E R T I F I C A T E

Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, Hayashi, Kaoru, Chief of the Archives Section, Japanese Foreign Office, hereby certify that the document hereto attached in Japanese, consisting of 15 pages and entitled "Address of Mr. Yasuko Matsukawa, Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the 76th Session of the Imperial Diet, January 21, 1941." is an exact and true copy of an official document of the Japanese Foreign Office.

Certified at Tokyo,
on this 28th day of January, 1947.

(Signed) K. Hayashi
Signature of Official

Witness: (Signed) Nagaharu Ido